

## HEARST'S STEPS TO AVERT WAR SHOWN

Continued from Fourth Page.

had one, Augustus, Rome's first Emperor, was a good man, but Nero, who acted under powers and precedents allowed Augustus, was fearfully bad one.

Wilson a Federalist.

"Eternal vigilance is price of liberty. Wilson is federalist, as I wrote in first year of his term and as Francis showed in alien and sedition editorial. The federalists are autocratic in tendency. Hamilton was accused of trying to make monarchy of our Government. Quote monarchies are destroyed by poverty, republics by wealth unquote.

"It is easier to establish a virtual monarchy in the rich America of today than in the poor America of a hundred years ago. We shy at the name of king but we accept the spirit of absolutism. The Romans would have no king but they accepted an emperor with more power than any king, and so lost their liberties. President of this republic to-day has more power than any king in any constitutional monarchy in the world. If he gets more he will be a dictator and possibly a despot. It is the duty of true democracy to be vigilant, especially as all these encroachments on popular rights are being made in the name of democracy.

(Sig.) HEARST.

Mr. Bielaski endeavored to make it clear that Mr. Hearst persisted in the theory that the Zimmermann note was a forgery by showing another of the Palm Beach despatches signed "Doctor." These despatches continued in the attacks on Attorney-General Gregory, saying:

"The object of the Zimmermann forgery was to frighten Congress into giving the President the powers that he demanded, and perhaps also into passing the espionage bill. When Wilson wanted to give away the rights of the United States in the Panama Canal he pretended that he had private information of a dangerous international situation sufficient to justify his acts. He has never revealed his private information and no one now believes that he ever had any.

Wilson Course Attacked.

"He could not repeat this false claim on this occasion, so a complaint Cabinet officer this time undertook to manufacture sufficient false evidence to enable Wilson to have his way. It is possible that the British secret service cooperated in those plans. The only serious consequence is that the whole people of this country, 90 per cent. of whom do not want war, may be projected into war because of these misrepresentations and these forged documents, if they are forged.

"I believe in war if the people want war. They have to do the fighting. They ought to do the deciding. I believe in, first, a referendum to the people, and second, failing that, a decision by the people's representatives

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in Congress assembled. We are getting very far away from democracy and very close to autocracy when we repose all the power of the people and all the power of the people's representatives in the hands of one man, whom we thereby create a dictator. It may be the right thing to do, but Rome in so doing drifted from a republic into an empire.

"I think the United States should remain a republic in fact as well as in name, and that the people should neither be deceived by the machinations of a tricky Attorney-General nor deprived of their rights to decide a question of war or any other momentous question. I do not believe any other individual has an interest in such questions equal to the interest of the great mass of the public and I do not believe that the wisdom of any individual is equal to the collective wisdom of the people.

"If we do not want to say all this editorially we can say part of it editorially and get some one to stand for interview, as Hale used to do, to bring all these points out, especially those about the probable forgery of the note. We should develop the forgery phase of the note for the Sunday paper if Francis and I seem to be right."

Disclosures in Good Faith.

But even while this message was in transit Mr. Carvalho telegraphed that the disclosures were in good faith and that the Zimmermann note had really been sent. He said in a telegram to Mr. Hearst dated March 1, 1917:

"Senator Swan (Swanson) (Va.) announced in Senate this morning that he was authorized by the President to state that the Zimmermann note to Mexico was textually correct. Lansing made same announcement from State Department. Japanese Ambassador authoritatively announced that Japan would spare such proposition. No official information from Mexico. Will you outline such editorials as you want printed. Francis is away sick; will be gone week or ten days. Owing to lateness of news no paper made editorial comment this morning.

"CARVALHO."

The series of documents ended with this, and the entire batch was sent to

the Government Printing Office to be incorporated in the public hearings of the special committee. Mr. Bielaski will not reappear upon the witness stand unless the committee desires to cross-examine him.

The committee adjourned until Friday.

ASKS FINER WELCOME  
TO RETURNING TROOPS

Wickersham Says We're Not  
Doing Enough for Them.

George W. Wickersham, who spoke last night at the smoker of the University of Pennsylvania Club of New York in the Hotel Martineau, had come from the University Club, where 300 veterans of Chateau Thierry were entertained.

"When our boys came home," said Mr. Wickersham, "they were struck with the fact that nobody seemed to pay any particular attention to them. Crowds hurried by, apparently uninterested in them. It isn't that we American people don't care, that we are not deeply concerned in them, it's just the busy American way of doing things.

"What I am afraid of is that with these men coming back, unless we do something to bring to their minds the consciousness that our hearts have been with them, that we are not ungrateful for what they have done, they will think they have an ungrateful country to fight for. Of course Mr. Hearst welcomes them (laughter). Perhaps that is something in the way of compensation; but really this problem is one that college men should address themselves to and seek the best form of bringing home to these soldiers proof that they have a grateful country."

CALLS HEARST, AS  
GREETER, AN INSULT

Robert Underwood Johnson  
Refuses to Serve With Him.

Robert Underwood Johnson declined last night to serve on Mayor Hylan's committee to welcome homecoming troops because William Randolph Hearst had been named as the chairman of the committee. Mr. Johnson's letter of declination follows:

"Dear Sir: I have your letter of December 7, signed by your secretary. Mr. Whalen, appointing me a member of the committee of welcome to homecoming troops.

"In ordinary circumstances I should deem this appointment a great honor and should loyally respond to any demand of service it required, as I have done in many similar instances under former Mayors of the city. I am, however, obliged in self-respect to decline the appointment.

"My reason for doing this is that the honor of such an appointment is vitiated by the inclusion in your committee of William Randolph Hearst, whose sinister attitude from August, 1914, toward his country and toward the principles for which her allies were fighting is a matter of public record; so conspicuous, indeed, as to make his appointment on such a committee an insult not only to our gallant soldiers, for whom, under whatever auspices, America will have an

overflowing welcome, but to every self-respecting citizen of the country.

"This welcome, moreover, should not be tainted by an endeavor to rehabilitate the public reputation of any man."

NEVER PRO-GERMAN,  
SAYS HITCHCOCK

Senator Makes Answer to  
Reiswitz Letter.

Special Despatch to THE SUN.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10.—Senator Hitchcock, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, made answer to-day to suggestions contained in the letters of Consul Reiswitz of the German Imperial Government at Chicago, written in 1915, in which his name was mentioned as an earnest proposer of an embargo on the exportation of arms to belligerent nations. It had been made to appear in the Reiswitz letter, which was addressed to Ambassador von Bernstorff that Senator Hitchcock was a valuable and earnest adherent of the Government cause by reason of his opposition to the shipment of arms. Senator Hitchcock, admitting authorship of the embargo bill eight months before the Reiswitz letter was written, said that it had expressed his views of real neutrality at that time, and that so far as its genesis being in Germany was concerned it had been purely his own measure.

"My stand was taken in 1914 as an American for neutrality," he said. "In these days, Mr. President, the country was under a pledge of neutrality by virtue of the President's proclamation made when the war broke out. My attitude naturally changed with changing conditions. I supported the President's request that we authorize him to assert and protect our neutrality by arming our merchant ships and I had charge in the Senate of what was known as the armed neutrality resolution which died so dramatically here in the Senate at noon on March 4, 1917.

"A month later when the issue changed from armed neutrality to war I had charge of the declaration of war which was briefly debated and passed by the Senate April 4, 1917.

"And so like other Americans I have passed from one phase of the situation to another peaceful neutrality, armed neutrality, war, but I declined to associate myself with those who became partisans of Germany."

RUMELY WANTS TRIAL HERE.

Says Washington Indictment  
Would Prevent Hearing at Home.

Asserting that his indictment in Washington five months after his indictment here is an effort of the Government to deprive him of making his defense at a trial in his home community, Edward A. Rumely, former publisher of the Evening Mail, protested yesterday against the removal of his case to the capital. He was arraigned before Samuel M. Hitchcock, United States Commissioner, in a removal proceeding.

"The New York indictment charges Rumely with perjury in making a false report to the Alien Property Custodian. The Washington indictment accuses him of violating the trading with the enemy law

## BUTLER DENIES HE ASSAILED WILSON

Made No Statement Opposing  
President's International  
Policies, He Says.

SEES PRO-GERMAN PLOT

Interview Published in "New  
York American" Answered  
By Educator.

Publication in yesterday's New York American under a headline all the way across page one of a cable despatch stating that an interview with Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, published in Paris, had "profoundly amazed" the French by alleging that President Wilson "does not represent American sentiment" inspired Dr. Butler to give the lie direct to the story.

"I do not of course see the New York American," he said, "and have therefore no personal knowledge of what it prints. If it insinuates that I have authorized an interview or statement for publication abroad criticising the President's going to the peace conference or opposing his international policies it utters a falsehood. I could only interpret such a statement as part of the systematic pro-German and anti-national propaganda with which this paper has so long been associated in the public mind, the object in this particular case being to make the American people appear to be divided in council at a critical moment.

Discussion in General Terms.

"The interview referred to was written by Edward Marshall, a well known and thoroughly responsible newspaperman, and contained no criticism whatever of the President, nor indeed any mention of him save as having heretofore used general terms only in speaking of the league of nations and freedom of the seas.

"The interview discussed in some detail the phrases 'self-determination,' 'league of nations' and 'freedom of the seas' and vigorously supported all three policies. Mr. Marshall showed me the text of his interview before he cabled it, and there was in it no single word to give ground for any such insinuation as I understand the American has put in circulation."

Here are the only parts of Edward Marshall's interview with Dr. Butler which seem to be open to any construction as bearing at all upon the Hedlin cable or Dr. Butler's explanation concerning the interview. He is quoted by Mr. Marshall as having said: "The American people approach the peace conference in a very fine and broad minded spirit, but without understanding the specific policies which they should consider and support and without any commitments to such policies.

The public statements of the President have been almost universally and perhaps purposely couched in vague and general terms, and the more specific policies outlined by Senator Lodge were of course not advanced on behalf of the Administration.

Three General Phrases.

"There are three general phrases that the American people have been hearing constantly. They are 'self-determination,' a 'league of nations' and 'the freedom of the seas.'"

Dr. Butler went on to discuss each of these general phrases at length, but without purporting to state the President's position or the people's or in any way to suggest any sort of difference between the two. He gave three steps which he said would be essential to a league of nations: "Let these nations, assembled by their representatives at Versailles, declare themselves to be a league of nations organized for the precise purpose for which the war was fought and with which their several peoples are entirely familiar, namely, the definition and protection of standards of international right and justice.

"The second step," he said, "should be to invite the nations that have been neutral in the war to join the league on condition that they formally give adherence to the three ends or purposes for which the league is organized.

The third step should be to invite the recently submerged and oppressed nationalities to present their case for the league their several cases for hearing and determination—and after the league has passed on these nationalities' geographical and political claims then they should be invited to form their own Governments. Dr. Butler thought, and having done so they should be admitted to the league. While this is going on and until Germany and Austria-Hungary and their peoples have repented they should be kept out, in his opinion.

"The American public," said Dr. Butler next, "is wholly mystified as to what is meant by 'freedom of the seas.' That phrase had a pretty definite meaning as late as the time of the American civil war, but subsequent events have deprived that meaning of much significance. In time of peace the seas are and long have been entirely free. In time of war they have always been commanded by the possessor of the strongest navy. If that condition had not prevailed in 1914 Germany would have won the war just ended within twelve months from the time of its beginning. With Germany's army in a position to do as it

chose and the naval hands of Great Britain and France tied behind their backs the issue raised by Germany on August 4, 1914, would not long have remained uncertain. The mastery of the seas by the British navy has proved to be the most powerful single element in bringing about the downfall of militarism.

PROF. HART DENIES  
GERMAN LEANINGS

Harvard Man Testifies Before  
Senate Committee.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10.—Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University pointed to his record and to his published articles on the war before the Senate Judiciary Committee to-day as evidence that his name had no place on the German "list of important

names" in the committee's investigation of German propaganda.

Prof. Hart described his acquaintance with pro-Germans and declared he had not shared their views at any time. He said he refused to join the German University Alliance at the invitation of Otto Merkel of New York because he did not wish to become identified with such an organization. If he were classed as a pro-German, he declared, his associates at Harvard and elsewhere could properly class him as a hypocrite, and he cited many articles written by him and published in New York newspapers and elsewhere in which he condemned the violation of Belgium.

Telegrams from Ellhu Root and Dr. Charles W. Eliot, president emeritus of Harvard, declaring Prof. Hart's loyalty, were read into the record by Chairman Overman. Prof. Hart told the committee that the attempt of Merkel to induce him to join the German University League probably was the cause of his name being in the "important list."

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The ungrudging liberality with which the American people loaned to the Government under the patriotic urge is a thing of the past. Congress mistakes if it thinks it can without question continue to command such vast sums of money for its appropriations.

The obsolete guessing method of appropriation must yield to the modern and business-like method of the annual budget. The Government is now in trade, and to enjoy a successful commercial career, it must observe the best banking and business practices. We have been admonished to thrift and saving; now we want to know where our money is going to. We are weary of that dealing which, in response to the honest question, "What is the price?" brings the answer, "How much have you got?"

The Secretary of the Treasury has stated that it is necessary that a rational programme of Government financing be executed. Such a programme must comprehend a budget, carefully itemized schedules of the needs of the country and of the sources available for meeting them. The appropriation method based upon demands of the heads of departments, often exaggerated, must continue to result in waste and extravagance.

The budget system has been promised by both political parties. If they will do nothing, and Congress will do nothing, unified initiative must be taken by the business men of the community to force the public will upon the public's representatives. What is everybody's business is nobody's business.

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